6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Ranching and farming are the major economic pursuits of the people of these counties. The northern and western portions contain excellent natural grazing areas and are extensively used by both residents and outsiders for grazing of beef cattle, sheep, and horses. The eastern third of Glacier county and the greater portion of Pondera are subject to lesser amounts of rainfall than the more westerly portions but have more frost free days, and have been utilized to a greater extent for both dry and irrigation farming. Principal crops are wheat, barley, and hay.

Oil and natural gas production and refining are important industries, with the principal producing fields lying just to the east of the reservation limits. Producing wells on the reservation in both the northeast and southeast corners may be tapping these same fields. Oil is also being pumped in the northwest part of the reservation and there has been revived interest recently in exploring the potential of the western foothill strip. Oil lease money and bonus payments for leasing rights have provided a fluctuating but important prop to the local economy. There has been little manufacturing or lumbering, although the foothill strip, adjoining national forests and Glacier Park, has a lumber potential that is slowly being realized as the tribal mill in Browning increases its lumber output and new wood products industries are being attracted to the reservation.

The population, with an economic base of beef, wool, grain, and hay, also supports businesses, services, schools, churches, and government. Banking and financing institutions are available in Cut Bank, Browning, Conrad and Valier. Dependent children, and also those who are needy, aged, blind, or disabled are provided for by the county public welfare system established by state law and financed by tribal, county, state, and federal funds.

Like the other people of Glacier and Pondera counties the tribal members are citizens of the United States and of the state of Montana. They participate in national and state politics and in the county, precinct, school district, and town governments according to their places of residence. Reservation boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect it. Democrats, Republicans, independents, and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL 874) (U.S. Statutes LXIV, 1, 1950:1100) and the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (U.S. Statutes XLVIII, 1934:596) which in differing ways provide for payments to public schools in lieu of the taxes not received from Indian lands held in trust. Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant, and staff, are found in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning, Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers here and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade, and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

might be said, is made up of the "progressive" members of the tribe who have accepted more change than the "conservative" or "traditional" segment, which has resisted change. Anthropologists have sometimes used these labels to describe social divisions within Indian reservation communities. This process of differential acceptance and rejection of change has played a part in the evolution of the Blackfeet community, but other factors have also been at work to further complicate the matter.

One complicating factor is the presence of numerous tribal members of ¼ or less Indian "blood," who cannot be considered as Indians, or as members of families that have become assimilated. In one sense they are Indian only by the grace of one Indian grandparent or great-grandparent. Yet they live on the reservation and play an important part in tribal affairs. At one point I thought I could distinguish three categories: "real Indians," "assimilated Indians," and "Indians by technicality," but the last named do not form a distinct social group. They interact with the "assimilated" people and share a common culture. I gradually came to recognize that there were really two relatively distinct social divisions within the reservation community and named these the *Indian-oriented* and *white-oriented* societies. These cumbersome but appropriate labels recognize the cultural "directions" toward which the people in each group are oriented.

Many interrelated processes have led to this condition. In the preceding chapter culture change was described in terms of the development of the tribe as a whole in response to historical events. Another view of the same events could be taken from the perspective of the individuals who made their own adaptation and accommodation to the changing conditions of daily life. From this position the differential experience of persons with the two cultural systems, in home, school, church, work experience, and travel, seems most important. Of these the socialization experience in the childhood homes looms large when seen in the continuity from child to parent to grandparent back through time to the buffalo days. A few sketches from representative family histories should serve to indicate the complexity of the transmission processes that maintain and perpetuate the two social divisions in the reservation community.

Socialization to White-Orientation

A middle-aged full-blood man, who I shall call Ray Hawkins, told me about his childhood home and training. His parents saw the end of the buffalo days and concluded that the old life was ended. He remembers his father telling him, "The Indian days are gone. In a few years he will be only a thing in a museum that people will pay to see. You must live like our white brothers." His parents took up ranching and brought in a white tutor to teach the children English and other things they needed to prepare them for the new life ahead. Ray recalled that the tutor brought "books, a blackboard, chalk, paper, and pencils and set up a real school with recess and all." The children seldom left the ranch and were not allowed to play with other Indian children. "We were scared of the Indians," this full-blood told me, If they came near the house we would hide under the bed."

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

bed." Later they were sent to school in Canada. Both his parents and the school stressed the values of hard work, honesty, thrift, and education, and this man and his wife have been guided by these principles in the raising of their own children.

This case represents an abrupt break in the continuity of socialization and is an example of one way by which a full-blood family can move from Indian to white orientation. Missionary and governmental attempts to gain the same result by removing Indian children from their parental homes and into boarding schools failed more often than not. Perhaps the change occurred in this case because the parents had made the choice; they changed their own living style, and withdrew from contact with many of their past kin and social ties. They further insured the change by providing the tutor and the schooling that gave the children the experiences the parents were unable to supply, that prepared them for a way of life so different from what the parents had known.

Other paths to white-orientation are discernible in the life stories of some mixed-bloods. Oscar Swanson is 1/16 Blackfeet and his paternal grandfather was an immigrant from Sweden who came into Montana in the late 1890s as an employee of the railroad. He married a mixed-blood woman and they built a successful cattle ranch. Oscar's father was raised on the ranch and evidently learned very little of the Blackfeet culture from his mother. This seems to have been a common pattern in such marriages, even where the mother was a full-blood. The man was boss, he set the goals for the family and the Indian wife supported these. In some cases the wives were the driving force that made their white husbands successful. Oscar's mother was the daughter of a white family that had come from the midwest to homestead just east of the reservation. She and Oscar's father had gone to school together and were married soon after their eighth grade graduation. These two continued the ranch operation and raised their children in the way of life they both knew. Consequently, Indian traditions, language, and beliefs are strange to Oscar. He is one of the "Indians by technicality" who qualifies for tribal membership because his great-grandmother was a Blackfeet, and he resides on the reservation. Like Robert Thompson, described earlier, he feels that being part Indian has had little effect on him; life would have been much the same if he had been born and raised just off the reservation by white parents. His children, now 1/32 Blackfeet, continue in the patterns of socialization established by their parents and grandparents, yet remain as members of the tribe because they were born prior to the restrictive amendment to the tribal constitution.

Many of the white-oriented members of the tribe are from similar background, but the variations are interesting and show the international influences that have affected reservation life. Anthony Garceau, an elderly cattleman, was the son of mixed-blood parents. His paternal grandfather was a French fur trapper who married a Canadian Cree girl. Their only son, Anthony's father, was raised in a trading post. He went to school for a few years, worked for the trader for a time and then started ranching in southern Saskatchewan. Anthony's mother was born at Fort Benton, the daughter of a Piegan girl who had married another French immigrant fur trader. Her mother died when she was a child, so her father sent her to a convent in Winnipeg where she was raised and educated. At about the age of eighteen she visited friends in Saskatchewan where she met and married

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

activities in Browning invite public support.[18] Children from families of both orientations attend and participate; yet very few of the parents who turn out to watch their children perform are Indian-oriented.

The P.T.A. meetings and school commencement exercises I went to were not attended by many Indian-oriented people. No Indian-oriented were seen at two P.T.A. meetings, each attended by from fifty to sixty people. In 1960, twenty-one (over a third) of an eighth grade graduating class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few Indian-oriented adults were in the audience.

The high school commencement held on the evening of the same day, differed considerably in the nature of attendance. In this instance a class of thirty-three graduating seniors included twenty-five tribal members. Eight of this number (approximately a fourth) could be identified as children from Indian-oriented families. The proportion of Indian-oriented among the seniors was smaller than for the eighth grade class, but more Indian-oriented adults were at the high school commencement, making up an estimated fifth of the audience. Even so, the largest part of those in attendance were white-oriented. Even smaller Indian-oriented attendance was reported for the preceding and following graduations.

The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the valedictorian was a full-blood boy. I had seen him dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. Perhaps some of the Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

Attendance at the annual Easter Egg Hunts and the Fishing Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable to an Indian Days Celebration, they are community sponsored, scheduled, recurrent and locally advertised. Children participate regardless of the orientation of their families. Perhaps these events and the previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies.

I observed the Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 and arrived too late for this event in following years. As usual it was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later—cold and windy. Approximately five hundred children, from Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding Dormitory were brought

[18] The description of these particular events is restricted to those held in Browning because it is the largest and most heterogeneous of the reservation communities. People of both orientations, local people and residents from the other communities, come to Browning to attend events that interest them. Attendance at similar affairs in outlying communities reflects the orientation balance of the community. Children's activities at Starr School and Heart Butte, for instance, are attended by more Indian-oriented people; similar events at Babb or East Glacier are attended almost wholly by white-oriented persons. Browning differs in that it has quite large populations of people from both orientations; selective turnout here is more significant.

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The most common source of agricultural credit is the Bureau of Indian Affairs, through the Agency Credit Officer. The funds are several and are earmarked for certain kinds of uses. In each case, the total amount available is relatively small. The 1960 application for a $1,000,000 agricultural production loan to the Blackfeet Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation was approved, but at the time of the study only $100,000 had been implemented. At that time, five loan applications were being processed to cover the leased $100,000.

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The repayment cattle enterprise (sheep excluded) is of special interest. The program is of long standing and involves paying back to the Tribe one heifer for each ten heifers originally received, the payment to be made within a ten-year period. For each bull that is received, three heifers must be repaid during the ten-year period. The customary ratio is one bull for each twenty-five cows. The title to the "repayment cattle" belongs to the U.S. Government until repayment is made. These cattle are not carried as property on an individual's tax assessment.

The official agreement covering the cattle repayment program expired in 1963. There was apparently some opposition to its being continued because of its "failure to teach business."

Education

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The Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1961, included in its report a section on "Education." This section is reproduced in the "Annual Report of Indian Education in Montana" and is especially recommended for reading to all who are associated with Indians or Indian problems. The statistics covering the elementary and secondary education of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are presented in Tables 22, 23 and 24.

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TABLE 22. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Babb #8	None	None
Browning #9	915	758
Cut Bank #15	886	115
East Glacier #50	73	38
Little Badger #50	21	21
Total	1,895	932

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TABLE 23. HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Browning #9	231	173
Cut Bank #15	360	19
Total	591	192

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Preface

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO Richard Sanderville, who for many years was the official interpreter on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana, said to me, "When I was a boy, very few members of my tribe could read or write. But now all our young people are in school. They learn a lot about the Pilgrims, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln. That's fine. But they learn nothing about the history of their own people and their great chiefs. That is American history too."

It is indeed. The drama of Blackfoot history covers a period of fully two centuries. It is replete with action and conflict, with some comedy and much tragedy. In the early years of the eighteenth century the Blackfeet were an independent, stone-age people. For more than a century thereafter they were the dominant military power on the northwestern plains, feared by all neighboring tribes, the inveterate enemies of white trappers. Only seventy-five years ago the extermination of the buffalo, their basic resource, quickly reduced these bold, proud people to a condition of dire poverty, making them dependent upon government rations for their daily bread. For many of them it has been a long, hard road back toward economic independence under radically changed conditions of life.

Long before the buffalo disappeared from their country the culture of the Blackfeet was enriched through selective borrowing from other Indian tribes. White traders, missionaries, treaty makers, soldiers, teachers, Indian agents, and other government

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

ately known throughout Montana, devoted the rest of his very active life to founding churches and preaching a message of tolerance and interracial understanding among the whites. Not until twenty-one years later was a permanent Methodist mission founded among the Blackfeet in Montana.[24]

At Lame Bull's Treaty in 1855, Governor Stevens had talked of schools for the Blackfeet, but it was not until the fall of 1872 that the first school was opened at their Teton River agency. Then curious children flocked into the brand-new schoolhouse, sat down, looked around, and walked out. None of them attended with any regularity until some white children from the families of agency employees started school.[25] Still the number of Indian pupils remained pitifully small. Regular attendance was impossible because their parents spent most of the year hunting buffalo far from the agency. The average daily attendance during the first quarter of 1874 was twenty–four whites, six half-bloods, and ten Indian children.[26] Progress of the Indian children was painfully slow. As their teacher could not speak their language, she used pictorial charts which were first explained to the white children and the half-bloods in English. Then the bilingual half-blood children explained them to the full-bloods. A Blackfoot agent, interested in showing the effectiveness of his school's teaching methods, reported, "I held up my hat and the school as with one voice said 'hat.' So with slate, pencil, book, pen and the pictures of dog, cat, horse, cow, etc. It was a very satisfactory evidence of progress."[27]

In 1875 the agent enthusiastically reported that he had succeeded in getting the children to wash and comb their hair before entering school. The pupils were singing hymns "with great taste and correctness." Girls were receiving instruction in cutting and sewing, and they appeared to be making rapid progress in their studies. Boys, however, were very irregular in at-

[24] Stella W. Brummitt, *Brother Van.*
[25] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, 252.
[26] School Report, Blackfeet Agency, First Quarter 1874, Indian Office Records.
[27] John Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1878, Indian Office Records.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

tendance. Children whose parents took them out of school to accompany them on long buffalo hunts were likely to return "having forgotten everything previously learned." Although this agent claimed that twelve pupils had learned to read during the year, it is improbable that any of them were full-bloods.[28]

The agents had even less luck in encouraging Blackfoot adults to take a serious interest in farming. The government farmer annually planted crops on the agency farm, but he could get few Indians to follow his example. Seven families of half-blood men married to Piegan women had farms near the agency in 1872, and three houses had been built for the leading chiefs to encourage them to settle down. Two years later, some old Indians each planted an acre of potatoes and vegetables—but the grasshoppers harvested their crops. Discouraged, Agent May concluded, "The present generation of the tribes of this reservation will never take much interest in agricultural pursuits. The hunt is too attractive and game too plentiful."[29] With the exception of a few old or blind Indians and their families who lived near the agency, for whom one beef steer a week was killed, the Piegans were depending entirely upon the hunt for their subsistence. Not more than half of the Blackfoot, Blood, or Piegan Indians had been fed at the agency at any time during the preceding two or three years.[30]

In 1870 the government, in keeping with the new "Peace Policy," had resumed distribution of annuities to the Blackfeet. The annual expenditures of $50,000 were the same as the amount promised in the unratified treaties of the sixties. The Indians were acquiring a taste for the white man's coffee, and made ready use of the blankets, cloth, and hardware furnished them by the government. The agency blacksmith helped them by mending their frying pans and kettles. In the month of April, 1874, he put handles on about 200 frying pans and made about 500 fire steels

[28] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, 300-301.

[29] *Ibid.*, 1874, 276.

[30] R. F. May to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 27, 1874, Indian Office Records.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to the Catholic school at St. Ignatius Mission. Some of them were among the forty-five children who comprised the first Blackfoot students to be sent to the famous Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1889.

In the next three years opportunities for schooling increased rapidly. In September, 1890, the new Holy Family Mission School opened on Two Medicine River with accommodations for one hundred pupils. In 1892 a new government industrial school was opened at the former military post of Fort Shaw on Sun River and sixty Piegan children were enrolled. And that same year a new boarding school was opened on Willow Creek, west of present Browning. By 1894 three-quarters of the children of school age were in school.

The Indian boarding school took upon itself the difficult task of impressing upon the Indian child the superiority of the white man's values. Learning to be "civilized" meant learning a host of little things—to comb one's hair, to wear a coat, trousers, and shoes, to sit in a chair and sleep in a bed, to use a knife and fork, to tell time, and much more. In McGuffey's classic graded readers, the Indian child was exposed to the white man's strange code of ethics as he learned to read. As he progressed through the grades, he thrilled to *Robinson Crusoe* and *Swiss Family Robinson*. The Indian boy learned to milk a cow, to drive a team of horses, to build a fence, to care for livestock, and to plant, cultivate, and harvest crops. The girl learned to cook strange foods, to launder clothes, make dresses, and perform general housework according to the white housewife's standards. Both boys and girls learned to honor the American flag and to appreciate the symbolism of such great national holidays as the Fourth of July, George Washington's birthday, Christmas, and Easter. Thus, the work of civilizing Indian children required much more than constant drill in the three R's. It required painstaking indoctrination in the basic fundamentals of the white man's culture.

The task of civilizing adult men and women was much more difficult. Blackfoot agents had received very little assistance

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NP6 Blackfoot NP6
Blood

tate to enter a household where she is considered a "distant wife." In most instances, an aunt who has weathered the domestic storms of the early years of marriage, or a grandmother or great-aunt are the preferred relatives.

Adoption brings renewed hope of security to those children who have been orphaned or deserted, for the society deals none too kindly with these unfortunate ones. Frequently, they become slaveys in the families that take them in. Rarely, if ever, do they have an opportunity to make a "good" marriage. Once adopted, however, their status is immediately improved. They take their chances with the rest of the children. Some, like the youngest son of the old chief, Red Crow, may even be made an honored favorite. All expect to share in the family wealth.

Primarily, however, adoption serves the advantage of the older generation. A childless pair may take as their own the child of a fecund couple in the hope that then their union will be similarly blessed; or, having lost a loved one in death, the sad parents may feel that their only consolation lies in substitution. But to the question, "Why do you adopt children?" a Blood will most often answer, "We adopt children so someone will take care of us in our old age." And so important is this old age insurance that a poor child will be sought in preference to one with property: "If a child has property, he will leave us when he grows up." In this competitive society, the old have little confidence that the man of property will share it with them, even if he is an adopted son.[198]

The child, who probably never felt too secure at home, is now separated from his parents when he is six or eight and placed in one of the two sectarian boarding schools on the reservation. If his home is nearby, he may have visitors but most of the children, at least in the winter months, have little if any contact with their relatives. Some remain at school the year round. For all, however, it is a partial break with Blood tradition and culture.

Ironically enough, in this increasingly individualistic society, it is these boarding schools that offer the most extended experience in joint living and cooperation. Among other things, they have encouraged the girls to take *taka*. But their general emphasis is so contrary and their strict authoritarianism so foreign to the normal patterns of Blood life that their socializing influence is negligible. To a few children they have been havens from abuse or family discord, but even those who have benefited most from prolonged schooling (because they were poor or orphaned) suit their behavior in later life, not to their teachers' precepts, but to their social station.

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[198] K. A. Wittfogel (*Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Entwicklung der Familienautorität*, pp. 491, 506) points out that lack of security in old age is frequent in societies where the satisfaction of basic needs depends on "physical strength" rather than on "careful thought and accumulated experience."

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

641 boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect
665 it. Democrats, Republicans, Independents and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

Education

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Religious and Other Organizations

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575 here, and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area. The particular organizations active on the reservation will be discussed later.

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[38] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1950, LXIV, Part 1, p. 1100.

177 In 1960, twenty-one (over one-third) of an eighth grade graduating
184 class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few
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177 The high school commencement held on the evening of the same
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The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the
[292] class valedictorian for that year was a full-blood boy. He had been seen dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit
[302] that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. The Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

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184 Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable
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16: Hanks & Hanks · E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

Have these needs inferred by whites actually been satisfied? No, because despite rations, rent-free houses, educational opportunities, a hospital, and old-age pensions, we still find many instances of behaviour showing that these needs still exist. In spite of rations, the largest fraction of Blackfoot income goes for groceries. Blackfoot still build houses for themselves even though they have already been provided with houses. Some Blackfoot have paid for courses in technical schools in Calgary, a few leave the reserve to attend boarding-schools, while others have sought to enter the town schools. Though the sick frequently go to the Blackfoot hospital, others hire the services of medicine-men or white physicians in neighbouring towns. Few Indians cease to work at fifty when they first receive old-age benefits. Thus we may infer that despite the presence of means satisfying their needs, these needs are not fully satisfied. At best the trust fund helps diminish the urgency of some of them.

A somewhat tender-minded visitor who was acquainted with the existing economic structure might come away from the reserve with a different impression. He might be struck with the difference in the Indian's standard of living as compared with the white's. The houses are small, frequently in rather poor repair. In some places the wells are dry, and Indians must travel to the river, a distance of several miles, to obtain water. Wood for fires must also be gathered at this distance. Sanitary facilities are often dirty, in poor repair, and sometimes lacking. Interiors are sometimes unkempt, bedding patched, and not too clean. Furnishings are adequate in some houses, but in others there may be little more than a mattress in the corner for a bed. Modern conveniences practically do not exist: only one house has running water; three houses have electricity. Though a fair sprinkling of hand-driven washing and sewing machines exists, other households seem to lack even soap and thread. A few men own automobiles, but most travel by horse and wagon. As compared with middle-class whites, there is obviously a lower standard of living among the Indians on the reserve.

Do the Blackfoot feel a need for an improved standard of living? An unqualified answer cannot be given. Certain improvements seem to be rather universally desired, while others are seldom referred to. Judging by the activity shown in these directions, Blackfoot would like more food, better clothing, warmer housing, and larger amounts of furnishings. Many informants went to the nearest store as soon

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

younger people rather than keep on repaying the older as he had done after his own war parties. The younger men would return these gifts with interest after a successful raid. A stake in a household also changed his interest from seducing women to preventing their seduction. To ensure stability or overcome misfortune, he acquired sacred bundles and regalia. By virtue of the supernatural reinforcement derived from these bundles he achieved power in his utterances. 561

A second mechanism, age-grading, further organized the relationship of young and old. A boy with his comrades entered this hierarchy of six to twelve age-societies by purchasing from the age-group of his immediate elders their society regalia. Having held it four years, this group sold the regalia to its juniors and again bought the society regalia of the next older age-group. These societies held annual dances in the circle camp of the Sun Dance and solidified relations with one's own age-mates. Certain societies were also entrusted with various kinds of authority to maintain order in the camps. Between adjacent age-grades joking relationships existed, so that humorously turned but often keen-edged criticism furnished socially permitted opportunities for reprisal against the authority of one's elders. The relations of alternate age-grades were on the other hand friendly, thus effecting a dual division of the tribe with all ages represented in each half. In keeping with the authority of the elders was a progressive change in character of the societies with age. Not only did the price of membership increase so that fewer could afford to join as the series progressed, but to the older age-grades increasing supernatural powers were attached. Though the Bees for younger boys was mainly a large dancing society, the Horns at the top of the hierarchy had definite powers, rituals, and obligations of an extremely sacred character. 561 575 [522]

Today at the age of seven all Blackfoot children leave home to attend one of the two missionary boarding-schools on the reserve. The term begins late in August and continues until after the Sun Dance is over in the last part of June. On occasional Saturday nights the little children only may return home, but not until the two-months' summer vacation is there any prolonged contact with their parents. 872

School curricula are directed towards training the young for elementary literacy in English, Christian outlook, and familiarity with white techniques of living. English is taught in the classroom [91]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

872 191 and propagated in at least one of the schools by prohibiting communication in Blackfoot. After a year the children are usually able to write simple sentences in English and by the fifth year compose simple stories. A periodical put out by the Roman Catholic school contains news of the school and specimen compositions by the children. There are also stories written in Blackfoot by one of the fathers [212] who employs a semi-phonetic system of rendition. Unfortunately few Indians can read this material, since this system of writing 872 797 Blackfoot is not taught in school. In addition to classes in religion, Christianity is taught through contact with the teachers, daily attendance at chapel, and witnessing the celebrations of feast days. The memorizing of prayers and catechism aids both English usage and religious indoctrination. Later, participation in the service as 872 177 acolytes familiarizes the boys with church ritual. From the beginning children are taught the use of tooth-brushes, bathtubs, and other non-Indian paraphernalia. As they grow older, increased responsibility is given in the maintenance of the school. A boy may begin at seven with sweeping the dormitory and by seventeen be in charge of the milk cattle. Similarly, a girl may be first required to help set the table, while her older sister bakes bread in the school kitchen. These duties acquaint the young with white techniques of living which are intended for later use in reserve life.

561 572 Association with children of one's own age fits nicely into the Blackfoot pattern of age-grading. As in former times, school children call their class-mates "comrade," this term applying to both females and males. Between comrades sharing and co-operation is expected. They exchange gifts, make joint expeditions to town on Saturday, and work together in the school vegetable garden. Thus reinforced by the culture, one's class-mates usually become special associates for life. As young men, comrades play pool, gamble, seduce women, and get drunk together. Women, whose activities are circumscribed by the household, have less opportunity to continue contacts with their female comrades. We have evidence of the continuation of informal inter-age-grade rivalry and joking, but little of solidarity between alternate age-grades.

872 [582] Normally school life continues until eighteen for boys. In the interest of morality school authorities see that girls are married before leaving school. Boys have usually been away from school a few years before marrying. After a maximum of eleven years in school the children have nominally completed eight grades. Actually

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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few Blackfoot have even the most elementary knowledge of subjects commonly taught in the village grammar schools. Their training is insufficient for graduation into higher white schools but is considered adequate for living on the reserve.

Many young men have remarked on the strangeness of the transition from school to reserve life. From a life where days are planned on a background of hours and minutes they proceed to a life with faint temporal structure. The food is strange and appears irregularly. Interests of people are no longer guided by duties to God or saint but by the harsher necessities of earning money. The personal authority of the matron or master is suddenly replaced by a set of maxims under the name of "listening to the words of your father." Aside from school friends a boy is acquainted only with his close kinsmen. Others are remote and strange. When leaving school is complicated by the fact that parents have separated and the households reorganized, the boy may be utterly lost. A lad in such a predicament was given a job as handy-man for two years at the school to ease the transition. Another without close emotional ties to the new household made frequent visits back to the school. In addition, few techniques taught in school are applicable to making a living on the reserve. Irrigated gardening and milk cattle furnish no preparation for a life of growing wheat, digging coal, and tending horses. These techniques must be hastily learned under the tutelage of some relative and the farming instructors.

For girls the transition is frequently even more difficult. From the school they enter reserve life practically immediately as a bride in a strange house away from their parents. Washing clothes in a washing machine and mechanical mixing of bread dough ill fit these girls for life in a house without running water or electricity. From the helpful hand of a mother-in-law or a sister-in-law they learn entirely new techniques that are suitable for living in houses and camping in tents.

Although the transition be rough, the young are quickly incorporated into the life of the reserve. The economy depends on young men, first as helpers and later as heads of family production units. Whatever the task, growing wheat, raising horses, mending the roads, dynamiting a seam of coal, the young form the body of labour for the agency-managed economy. They have become the bread-winners for their households. With many concepts established by their years of school life these twenty- and thirty-year-olds try

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and I find them dirty to eat." I started to cry because of it and my father right away looked and said: "What has happened to my girl?" My sister ran out of the house before she could be scolded.

My sister went away to boarding school before I did. That is when I learned the most about our old traditions and religion, because I was around my father all the time. My father and mother took very good care of their holy things, and my father learned all that he could about them. No wonder he grew to be a very old man. Nobody would think of ever going in front of him or in front of his altar. That was strictly forbidden in our religion.

Finally my sister and I were both at the boarding school, and we learned a lot of things from the nuns. They taught us about the modern ways of living, but even these are considered old-fashioned and becoming lost now. When we finished school we both got married and went to live in the homes of our mothers-in-law. And that was when we really learned how things were done and how life goes, after we got married. The rest was just training leading up to that, but our real life didn't start till after marriage and having children.

Mokakin's mother was really good at doing women's work, and she was pleasant to live with. It seemed to me that whatever she did turned out good. And she was very holy and knowledgeable in our religion, too. She and her husband had owned a lot of medicine bundles together. I used to just watch her beading and wonder how it always looked so perfect. I think I learned a lot about being a good wife and housekeeper from my husband's mother.

After I got married I became very lonesome for my father and mother. Even when we were all gathered at the Sun Dance grounds, my mother would camp far away from us and I would hardly see her. She was very old-fashioned, so she would not come anywhere near where her son-in-law was. She would come to our tipi very early in the morning and bring

796 The nuns had a hard time in school to keep us from talking
● 872 Blackfoot to each other. So they told us that if we spoke only
876 English for one week they would bring us to the Sun Dance. Oh, my, you should have heard us for the next week—nothing but English wherever we went. We made it for the whole time.

796 The day came for us to go to the Sun Dance and we started walking. Some ways out from the camps there was a coulee, and just before we crossed the coulee the nuns told us to sit down. That is where they brought us to the Sun Dance. We hardly even recognize anybody, let alone visit with them. Here we had thought they would take us right into the camp.

796 In those days the Sun Dance lasted a long time—a month
575 or more—because they had a lot of societies still active, and
535 a lot of ceremonies to go through. The societies would take turns dancing on different days. There were the Pigeons, Crazy Dogs, Braves, Crow Carriers, and the Horns. The Horns took four days for their dances, and so did the Motokiks, which was made up of women. Then at the end of that they would have a day or two of the Parted Hairs Society—powwow dancing that everybody took part in.

796 In those days there was a lot of activity with medicine
778 pipes, too. As many as four might be transferred during the time of the Sun Dance. Some of the owners opened their medicine pipe bundles to have a dance and give tobacco out. Sometimes an owner will want to give up his medicine pipe bundle, and no one makes a vow to take it. The owner will gather some old medicine pipe men and they will open the bundle during the night. Early the next morning they will go to the tipi of one who has a lot of property. He can afford the expensive transfer ceremony. Maybe he has a special horse that the owner of the bundle wants. He will be sleeping when the group arrives. They will be carrying the medicine pipe and other parts of the bundle. The first thing he will know is when the leader of the group gives the war cry, and the rest join in.

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824 grow all over the prairies, together and apart. The women's sage has smaller leaves and many more seed pods than the man's sage, which grows more bushy. They both have gray-colored leaves and a bitter taste.

824 757 Women used this sage for all kinds of things, internal and external. As a brew it was given for colds and chest problems, as well as other ailments. Many of these practices were taught to individual women doctors in their dreams and visions.

824 [752 302 841] They used this sage as a poultice for cuts and bloody noses. They used it as a padding inside their moccasins, for smelly feet, or under their armpits for a deodorant. They used to pick the leaves and make them into a pad during menstruation. The pads not only absorbed the blood but they also served as medication to keep the skin from getting raw. [514] Bunches of this sage were commonly used for toilet wiping.

PREPARING FOOD

262 With all the new foods that civilization has brought, the Indian people don't eat nearly as healthily as they used to. But one thing still remains the same: the staple Indian diet is meat, along with some kind of root vegetable. In the old days that was wild meat, mostly buffalo, and wild roots like camas and turnips. Nowadays the meat comes mostly from the butcher shop and the vegetables from the grocery store. Unfortunately, the children take most readily to all the other junk food that is so available today. This food is so sweet and easy to eat that some children don't even like meat and vegetables anymore.

I grew up with the taste of wild meat, cooked intestines, and berry soups. I still consider them favorite foods. I never did know of a Blackfoot Indian who was a vegetarian. But I have learned about modern foods and how to pick the good [872] ones from the bad ones. Even at the boarding school they

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taught us about food values. I have heard many critical things said about our boarding schools, and about the nuns that ran them, but I seldom hear anyone pointing out the many good things that we had and learned. A lot of our food was grown in the school's farmyard, where we could watch it. Because it didn't have the personal feeling of our mothers' homemade meals, we tended to make fun of it and dislike it. It was mass-cooked for mass meals of students, but it was basic and nutritious.

I find some of the cooking ways of my grandmothers to be impractical around a busy household today. But their ways sure make good survival knowledge, either for camping or for whatever events are coming up in the world that might make such knowledge important for survival. If you want to have an idea of how my grandmothers of long ago cooked, just imagine doing this: You have to prepare a meal for ten hungry people, but you have no stove, no pots or pans, and no dishes. In fact, you don't even have a fancy knife or any matches. That's why my grandmothers cooked pretty simply. Their bodies were much more attuned to nature than ours ever could be, because they ate so simply right from nature.

DRYING MEAT

Dried meat, or jerky, is easy to make. The main process is to slice the fresh meat thin enough so that it will dry quickly before it can spoil. Then you hang these thin slices from cords strung across your ceiling. The heat from your kitchen will dry the slices in just a few days. Once they are thoroughly dry, you can keep them stored for years.

To begin, you don't just slice the meat into little strips. Those come at the end, as leftovers. The easiest part of an animal to start with is one of the hindquarters—doesn't matter if it's buffalo or cow, deer or sheep. In fact, the method even works for some vegetables.

115

up at Fort Benton, the main trading post for the [443] [439]
Piegans in Montana. He worked as a teamster on
bull trains (wagon trains pulled by bulls) over the
old Whoop-Up Trail between Fort Benton and
Edmonton, Alberta. During these trips, he got to
know the family of a Piegan named Red Tail
Feathers and his two Blood wives, Mountain Lion
Woman and Woman's Word. Among the chil-
dren of this family was Bird Rattler and Awok-
Aki, or "Smart Woman," who became Joe
Beebe's wife. Their only child was Grandma's Joe
Beebe. When the boy was born, AwokAki was [845]
not able to pass her afterbirth. Joe Beebe wanted [759]
to get the white doctor, but the wives of Red Tail
Feathers had no faith in him and insisted on doc-
toring AwokAki themselves. She passed away
after six days.

Old Joe Beebe married again, but continued [736]
to provide for his two mothers-in-law. Mountain
Lion Woman raised little Joe for the first seven
years of his life. After AwokAki's death, this old [853]
lady took him to women who had babies so that
he could nurse from them. If they weren't avail-
able, she made broths for him, letting him suck
on her own dry breasts for contentment. His con-
tinued sucking finally caused milk to come from
her breasts, so that she was able to nurse her
grandson for some time. The old lady delighted in
showing off whenever visitors were around that
she could nurse the baby.

When young Joe Beebe was about seven, his [872]
father placed him in the Dunbow Boarding
School, where he stayed for most of the next
twelve years. Many other boys from this reserve
were sent to Dunbow. At the age of nineteen he [464]
returned to the reserve to work as interpreter and
scout for the Mounted Police. Although his [156]
speech and appearance led many to think of him
as a white man, he soon let his hair grow long
enough to braid and began to take part in the
frequent powwows. He became an excellent Grass [796]
Dancer, earning the right to dance with the [177]
Forked Stick during the Dog Feast, a ceremony [535]
our People had adopted from the Assiniboines. [554]

[p. 58-A]